

MARGARET:  
'I'M LONELY AND  
I LOVE PEOPLE'

CANADA'S NEWSMAGAZINE

FEBRUARY 23, 1976 50¢

# Maclean's



**Revolt of  
the middle-class  
worker**







number of seats, although I think we pretty well eliminated, at least as of now, the feeling of jealousy that may have existed toward the Conservative Party in Quebec. Secondly, and here I'm being very personal, and I think being pretty objective about it, I think it is a perception of myself as a political leader. The perception is that I'm a Conservative. One of the objectives was to lead people to the conclusion that I should resign in a time of my own choosing following the election of 1974 was that I had been party leader before the public of Canada for eight years, and it was pretty clear to me that I wasn't their idea of the sort of person they wanted to run the country. We did win in Ontario in 1972, but it didn't seem to me that this was because Ontario people were wild about Bob Stanfield, but rather that quite a number of them wanted to bring Pierre Trudeau down to earth a little. You know, a number of people have said to me at various times, "Don't be precious. Things can change" and that sort of thing. But, as you I, I have been before the people for eight years and I think that it is true that I accepted the judgment of the assessment of me as made by Canadians. Prior to deciding to seek the leadership in 1967 I felt myself a bit to make my own assessment of things and I went to the conclusion that there was no great demand for my services across Canada within the party, and I didn't feel any such feelings in the country. I did not decide to seek the national leadership because I felt there was a demand for my services. I came to the conclusion that I was sufficiently concerned about a number of problems that existed and that I'd like a check it in. And the next step, of course, was seeing whether the Canadian people wanted me to do it. And when the leader for eight years, and following the election of 1974 didn't think it was appropriate for me to take the same kind of attitude and say, "Well I'll hang around and wait for the people all right."

**Maclean's:** Don't you feel that one of the problems you had was the perception that your party was divided? Sometimes we're, including John Diefenbaker, voted against you and the party on the Official Languages Act.

**Stanfield:** Certainly on matters of importance, the more you refer to, I find that the party has got to be prepared to take positions on important matters and take positions and decisions, if that has to be. The fact that there were as many as 100 Conservative Members of Parliament, some against the Languages Bill might have caused doubts in the minds of a great number of people in Quebec as to what kind of a steady course a Conservative Prime Minister could take with regard to a nation in which Quebec was particularly interested. Certainly that might have been a factor. Doubts in the party could, to the extent they existed, affect the effectiveness of the party in an electoral campaign. In 1972, we were very close. And it may be that a

few more seats might have resulted from a higher degree of party unity at the time. But I have always felt and believed that the leader of the course cannot ignore the caucus. I don't think he should expect the caucus to accept the strain of being asked too frequently to follow the views of the leader when they differ from the views of the majority of the caucus. There are many times when I have persuaded the caucus, and the caucus has agreed to go along with me. But, frankly, playing down the importance of caucus so as to appear to the country and to the party to be leading the caucus well, I don't think I could do that as a matter of containing strategy.

**Maclean's:** Surely, in such cases as the *Official Languages Act*, you had a majority of the caucus on your side. It wasn't a case of your outvoting them through caucus. And you were not in a position to outvote them?



**IT WAS PRETTY CLEAR THAT I WAS NOT THE SORT OF PERSON CANADIANS WANTED RUNNING THE COUNTRY**

then again, after the 1972 election, when the Liberals brought in that obviously calculated resolution on languages, just begging you to divide, you accommodated them and divided again. Why didn't you show the line there and say to the caucus, "All right, if that's the way you're going to be, you are going to have to leave the caucus — not expect to have to leave the caucus — not expect to have to leave the caucus?" Surely, in the long run, it would have strengthened your side.

**Stanfield:** I don't think I can't accept it because I think one has to recognize that the members of my caucus who voted against the government and voted against me in those instances reflect, to some extent, a significant opinion of the country,

and I do not believe that it would have strengthened the party or strengthened the way of the party for me to have attempted to ward those people out of caucus on these occasions.

**Maclean's:** What was your feeling about having somebody as prominent and as independent as John Diefenbaker sitting on the same bench, sometimes taking positions that were quite different from your own? Did that ever make you uncomfortable or angry?

**Stanfield:** Well, let me put it this way. I think that the fact that Mr. Diefenbaker wanted to be taking positions that were to some degree different from mine did affect the public's perception of my leadership in the sense that it tended to blur the party position and possibly make it more difficult for me to appear to be taking a clear and firm position on a particular matter. I think it probably tended to obscure the public's perception of me as a leader.

**Maclean's:** Did you ever state that problem with him?

**Stanfield:** The relationship between Mr. Diefenbaker and myself is pretty personal and I don't really wish to discuss it.

**Maclean's:** What about your own father and your place? I presume you are not going to talk up the campaign?

**Stanfield:** Gough! I sought this time. I'm going to my own parliament and the next general election is a matter for Halifax. And I'm not going to concern myself to anything more at the moment.

**Maclean's:** What sort of things would you like to do?

**Stanfield:** I've been a partisan politician, a leader of a party, for over 25 years and it's been a fascinating, wonderful life, but a confining life in the sense of things I've been able to read, discuss, and do, and I'm curious to know what it's like to be a member to do with the rest of my some life will be quite different, even in six months' time, from what they are now. In the role of a national party leader, one lives and sleeps at that role, and I want to begin living and thinking on an individual basis for a while before I decide what I want to do. I know enough about myself to know that I'm not going to be content gardening, although I'm looking forward very much to putting in a garden next spring, or reading, although my reading will be of a much wider range than it has been, or listening to music, although I love listening to music. I'm going to have to get involved in something, but not in the same degree of commitment as I have been doing.

**Maclean's:** Likely not politics?

**Stanfield:** No, not politics, definitely not. And I know, too, from looking back over any life that it hasn't been a pleasure after I have spent most of my life doing something that I'm interested to do without regret and with great satisfaction on the whole. I rather expect that whatever I do get involved in is the next phase of my life will not be the result of any deliberate planning, but will rather be a response to something that challenges me. ☐

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# Letters

## Arctic Gas did it. Question is why?

Contrary to the conventional wisdom by Jim Updegraff in *The Crown of Gas* (January), it was the National Energy Board (NEB), not public interest groups, that referred the matter of apprehended bias to the Federal Court. Moreover, it was Canadian Arctic Gas, not public interest groups, who first raised the issue.

Last summer, before the NEB had selected the panel to hear the competing applications in the Mackenzie pipeline case, Canadian Arctic Gas made formal representation by counsel to the effect that Crown's appointment to the panel would cause problems by virtue of apprehended bias in favour of Canadian Arctic Gas. The timing and manner of presentation to the court of Canadian Arctic Gas can not be construed in several ways and thus remains the real mystery, particularly in view of its failure to proceed with the very serious issue at hand. My own apprehension is that the action may have been an attempt by an applicant to influence the composition of the panel that would hear its case, which it failed. Arctic Gas lost its case.

The reaction of the NEB was to regard the case raised by Canadian Arctic Gas as a serious challenge to the integrity not only of the chairman himself but of the board itself and, by inference, to the government that had appointed the board members. The board therefore immediately marked all of the intervenors who had appeared at the pre-hearing conference on July that the matter would be placed first on the hearing agenda, and it relied upon Canadian Arctic Gas to make available the names of all intervenors that Crown had attacked.

In the Federal Court hearings, the issue

arose to become the more general one that Updegraff described, but that happened largely because the participation by Arctic Gas was detached and academic—it was not the rigorous prosecution of the original charge that had led to the reference. Hence it was the NEB that seemed to be identifying unfairly, accurately, its category as most important case.

If Updegraff was aware of this background, which was exposed in the press, I am baffled in his conclusion that the outcome of the case is a major win for Arctic Gas. The legal battle was the outcome of Arctic Gas, not of the court, assuming that it had in the same case a plea for early decision from W.P. Mulder, head of Arctic Gas. Could it be that the NEB's reaction to the pressure of last summer took Arctic Gas by surprise? Could last summer's experience have been an advance attempt to raise fire with the workings of the board? It makes a fascinating mystery complete with the following suspects: misadventure, stupidity, manipulation, evil and high moral purpose. Can Updegraff supply the missing chapters?

Meanwhile we can rejoice in the court's findings which reaffirm the integrity of the NEB and its chairman and our confidence in its continuing ability to protect the Canadian interest.

LARRY HERRING, TORONTO

**Beware of charlatans, building hope**  
Congratulations to Mr. MacDonnell's *Cosmos* in *On Cancer* (January). It is not only a fine piece of reporting but also a beneficial contribution to our cancer-battling society.

The promoters of Lorene are a sleigh

train. They have the tendency to call their staff "trainers" (B-17) and over the last three years, are projecting full-on goals as an advertisement of underdeveloped imaginations. They imply that the *unimpossible* medical profession is against this cancer treatment. But it is banned because it is no good and the medical profession has a duty to protect the public against such charlatans. This glib, little public seems to forget that doctors and their families are as susceptible to cancer as anybody.

EATY N. LANGDON, 880 WESTMOUNT  
MONTREAL

**For him who waits, not for him who grows**  
Jim Updegraff needs a refresher course in economics. In *Among The Sower Were* (January) he tells us that "the government subsidizes wheat growers" by setting the domestic price of wheat at \$3.25 (Dollars) but makes that wheat worth \$4.75 on the world market but the price is lowered so that the consumer can continue to get cheap food? This makes it a subsidy to the consumer, to any rational mind.

SHARON BARRE, ANFIELD, IOWA

**Let the reign in Spain remain in Spain**  
Matti Follmer's *Reign of Fear: The Rise of Franco* (December) is full of facts of making a formidable impression on me. It was accurate and incomplete, a masterpiece of understated poppycock. I feel that he flattered his prejudices to the point of indolent ignorance since there is no precise, nor even plausible analogy between the Franco regime in Spain and government in Canada. During the Franco period Canada held 12 first elections and had five different prime ministers from two major political parties. Had Follmer been better acquainted with Spain and opened out such a critique against Franco, he would have painted Franco's best of political practices in Canada. He will receive only the silent contempt he so richly deserves.

CHARLES L. FILLMORE, TRENTON

**Editor's note**  
In *Suddenly Banned* (in *On The Edge* (December 1)) Jacques Humeau reported that Canada's *Citizenship* (CIBC) had "in sharing an industry-wide decline of 30% and is bound to lose money this year." In fact, Canada's earnings, just published show a net of \$27.5 million or \$2.25 per share for 1975. Net sales for the year were \$156 million, compared with \$191.5 million in the previous year. Maclean's apologizes for publishing this inaccurate estimate.

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# We hew wood, draw water and where does it get us? On the cutting-room floor at NBC

Column by By Walter Stewart

"There is very little ice in Canada," the girl said. "You know why—there they [Americans] get the same up there. That's what the bastards did." We were standing in downtown Pittsburgh, near the site of what had been Fort Duquesne, when the French held it, and Fort Pitt, when our side took over. I was talking to a high-school student, and the leftist looking the way French General John Forbes found the place in 1758—sneaky and glib. It has been happening a lot lately, and I blame myself. I have been going around asking Americans what they think of Canada.

They think we're nice, if they think of us at all. Cute and cool, from all that snow. We speak French, struggle across the borders to work every day and onto the swimming—riffs too cold. We are terrible cooks. "Talking about Canada was the best!" said our president but a very young wife. We have a kind of surreal up geography, too—"Not all the provinces are islands, but all the islands are provinces."

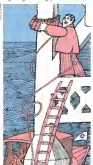
What can I learn the Americans? We learn more about their country than we want to because it comes to light: it is on our TV, in our newspapers, sprinkled across our trade fairs. We sell them more than one third of all we produce; they sell us about 25% of their products. We are, just the old sweet dupe, young, friendly, dumb and blemish.

In part, the fault is ours. In Ottawa recently, a Senate committee released a 59-page report pointing out that Canada spends about \$2.5 billion annually on information programs aimed at the United States. That's 10 cents per Canadian citizen. The report said "there is widespread misperception, distortion and misunderstanding of Canadian society and position in the United States. Much more needs to be done by Canada to combat this."

God knows, I've done my bit. I harassed a desk man at the Washington Post one day because I had been reading long letters about Graceland and not a word about Canada, except where a killer was captured in northern Ontario. He explained that the Post had trouble keeping stringers in Ottawa, because it couldn't pay enough for a full column of news out of the "nation" because not enough happened. "I told him that plenty happened and he smiled, leaning on with the notion that the Post will appear on first Ottawa news about the time we make our first report. Then I went after the TV, telling my liaison an exchange of letters that is worth

printing on the record, just to show how right the Senate committee is. I had been watching a highly trained, dense host program on U.S. foreign policy and I wrote to the host and editor, John Chancellor, about it. "I hesitate to invade on your busy day, but you cost me 25 cents so we are out of the realm of diplomacy and into that of hard cash."

"When we sit down to watch the three-hour special foreign policy tonight my wife said she would bet on one thing: that Canada would not be mentioned, not even once. I told her, of course, that she was full of much. Not only is Canada the single largest trading partner the United



Well, you have to get his attention...

States, but we are bracketed among the countries with the Philippines, an American colony since 1946, and to some extent, I also noticed that O'Connor didn't deny it would help to blow up the Peace Bridge, he just said no to it.

Well, it's not such a job to stand up for Canada—that is the job of our government, and it can't be done on the long-term basis now available. Canada-42 is made even comes to \$42 billion annually and we often get taken in as negotiators because we are so easily taken for granted.

We owe it to ourselves to do a better job. And, heaven knows, we owe it to our nation.

It got a reply from the show's producer, Daniel O'Connor: "In the interest of peace and friendship between our two countries, I've attached a 25-cent coin to this letter since I did not want you to be out any cash because we failed to mention Canada on the show."

Answering your questions in the order they were given: (A) Canada was mentioned very often in our production meetings. (B) We didn't forget about you. (C) Canada is a foreign country. (D) Please don't blow up the Peace Bridge.

One of our first considerations in researching this show was the treatment of Canada—but we finally decided that Canada would have to be left out because of time considerations. You must admit it was a tight show. There were three or four other countries we had to cut out, so we chose the one that we liked the least: the Philippines, another old and close friend. My decision was based on the fact that though Canada and the United States may have some problems in their diplomatic relations (these problems are nothing compared with the difficulties the United States is experiencing in relation to the rest of the world) I think you will agree in time. So we decided that our good friends in the world would have to be covered elsewhere at another time.

I was grateful for the two bits, but not distressed. We are bracketed among the countries with the Philippines, an American colony since 1946, and to some extent, I also noticed that O'Connor didn't deny it would help to blow up the Peace Bridge, he just said no to it.

Well, it's not such a job to stand up for Canada—that is the job of our government, and it can't be done on the long-term basis now available. Canada-42 is made even comes to \$42 billion annually and we often get taken in as negotiators because we are so easily taken for granted.

# Canada is becoming more and more dependent on oil from other countries...

## That trend can be reversed...

In 1974, Canada's oil production more than matched Canada's oil needs. In 1975, domestic production declined, and demand for petroleum products increased to new levels.

The National Energy Board has reported that, by the early 1980s, present Canadian fields will be able to produce enough oil to meet all the needs of the petroleum they now supply.

Canada will be increasingly dependent on oil from other countries. That trend can be reversed with care and the necessary effort and investment.

The Geoprog Survey of Canada reports that Canada has large resources of petroleum waiting to be discovered and developed. A part of this lies in the basic movements of the Arctic and offshore in the Atlantic, where the petroleum industry has already made some significant discoveries. Work is going ahead on production from the oil sands and other heavy oil deposits, but these are very costly to develop and the technology is not yet available to realize their full potential.



Canada has the potential resources—but present over-reliance on oil from other countries can be reversed.

Canada's oil industry has demonstrated that it has the resources, the expertise and the experience to meet petroleum resources as they develop.

However, tremendous investments will have to be made to do this.

Government estimates indicate that billions of dollars should be invested each year to petroleum development. Imperial Oil, for example, has been spending hundreds of millions of dollars each year to find and develop new petroleum resources and to provide the facilities needed to fill the growing demand for oil products.

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# Canada

## THE ISSUE THAT HAUNTS THE TORIES

As the Conservatives' leadership campaign unfolded under its conditions, one race overshadowed all the others: the rush for control of the venerable party. Claude Wagner's \$300,000 loan fund. The investment began soon before Wagner and his chief rival for the leadership, Montreal lawyer Brian Mulroney, who helped to oust Wagner as the Tories' first place. The problem was not the fund itself, set up to supplement Wagner's income after he left the security of a public appointment in Quebec to run policy in a Conservative office. After all as Wagner himself frequently pointed out during the leadership campaign, similar funds were set up for former Liberal prime ministers Louis St. Laurent and Lester Pearson when they entered the political arena. The problem was the suggestion, chiefly from supporters of Mulroney, that Wagner had not been telling the truth about the fund. Like the aftermath of Watergate, the whiff of cover-up persuaded the Civic Council in Ottawa as delegates gathered for the convention.

The convention, spanning late the Globe and Mail supported the existence of the fund last November, erupted just 10 days before the convention with the publication of allegations by Peter White, Wagner's former campaign assistant and now a Mulroney supporter. White in what he termed a "revelant" interview with Toronto Star reporter Robert McKeown said that a large sum of cash was delivered in a briefcase to Wagner's wife, Ginette. White said the money came from the office of T.J. de Goodman, a Toronto lawyer. Tory

inspired, and master of the Wagner fund, just four days before the October 30, 1972 general election in which Wagner ran successfully in a Conservative candidate. White's statement contradicted earlier assertions by Wagner that the fund was not even set up until after the 1972 election and if true meant that Wagner's Tory commitment was not entirely altruistic. Ginette Wagner denied White's statement. ("He's a liar," she said.) So did Goodman. ("That is the largest lie," he said.) White said he had "personal knowledge" the cash delivery was made. He would not elaborate. Wagner noted wryly, "It's strange someone has been stirring things up just 10 days before the convention opens and after the show is over. I was a fanatic" (A poll taken in early February for the Toronto Star by Peter Ranscombe showed Wagner as the lead with Mulroney a complete unknown just a few months before a close second.)

In an effort to repair the damage wrought by White's statement, Wagner's supporters sought support for their claim from the people they believe know the full story of the fund. Goodman himself, outgoing party leader Robert Stanfield and Shirley Macdonald (formerly Stanfield's chief aide and national campaign chairman in 1972) Goodman, refusing to discuss the fund, "I'm not going to tell you anything," he said. Macdonald now living in Florida also refused to comment, although he acknowledged he knows about the Wagner fund. Tanning to Stanfield as a lieutenant, he is deemed one who are backing Wagner versus the Tory leader as his offer a week before the convention to urge him to make a statement during Wagner's name. Stanfield said he would think about it. Two days later he decided against making any formal statement on the matter but it appears he was interfering in the campaign. Former Wagner supporters perceived a concerted effort to leave their man hanging out on a limb while everyone else ran for cover. Said one now backing Wagner, "Stanfield knows about the fund. As the leader of the party, he would have to know about it. He's just trying to protect his own hide."

In an interview with Mulroney's Stanfield said his knee itching about the fund. "I never discussed it," he said. And he discussed

the principle of the fund, if not the details. "No, no, no. I want to understand about the principle of the fund, although I must say and want to say that the people writing around the world he will aware that I regarded it as important that we have Mr. Wagner as a candidate in that election. They wouldn't let it be necessary to consult me about the establishment of such a fund."

If Stanfield does not know anything about the fund, say Wagner's supporters, Mulroney does and could clear up the air story by making a statement himself. Mulroney says it is not so. But Hugh Segal, a former Stanfield aide now working in Ottawa premier William Davis' office and a Wagner supporter, notes that Mulroney was out of the party fund-raising in Quebec last 1972 and said, "There's very little of a financial nature that ever happened in the party in Quebec that I don't not have a role in." Mulroney in addition is the

Eastern Townships just before the convention was not available to respond.

What is known is that Mulroney as Stanfield's chief operator in Quebec prior to the 1972 election, played a major role in persuading Wagner to join the party. It was Mulroney who arranged a meeting at his then bachelor apartment between Wagner, a prominent court judge, and Stanfield in September, 1971. Negotiations continued for about a year before Wagner joined the Tories. Mulroney was aware that Wagner was concerned about financial "security." If he resigned his position on the bench. But Mulroney has insisted he simply contributed this note to Stanfield's office and took no further part in the establishment of any form of "security."

In a last-minute attempt to control Mulroney and implicate him in the fund, Wagner's supporters spread the rumor that Mulroney himself delivered to Goodman the \$300,000 cheque that formed the base of the fund. If so, Mulroney would know whether or not the fund was set up before the 1972 election. But Goodman denies the money was delivered by Mulroney. He will not say who did deliver it or where the money was raised.

Other leadership candidates watching the smoke drifting from the wildfires urged those who know about the fund to make a full statement to clear the air and enable the party to get on to other matters. "It's doing damage to the party," said Flors Macdonald. In response, Mulroney promised to launch an investigation—after being elected leader. And Wagner promised to take all necessary steps "to clear the matter up"—after the convention. Supporters of some of the other candidates hoped Wagner and Mulroney would put

each other down in their bitter personal struggle and leave the field wide open for a third candidate, perhaps Macdonald. Paul Hellyer, Joe Clark or Sinclair Stevens. Said one hopeful Sanders supporter before the convention, "I think Wagner knows he's lost and he'll try to do a kindness job on Mulroney."

But some say Mulroney's were not so certain that the young Montreal lawyer when they regard an as consider because he has never held official office would be pulled down by Wagner. They decided to let members of their own to step Mulroney, organizing a pensioning plan that the Tories believe that only a person who has had experience in the House of Commons should be selected as leader. About 100,000 signed the petition before it was stopped at an angry meeting. It was blocked by Mulroney's supporters in the caucus just week before the convention. He had just won one openly backing him, Jim McGrath of Newfoundland, but by supporters of Mulroney, who had been the petition as bad threat. "It would have made it look as if the establishment was against Mulroney and that could only help him," said one. That didn't stop former prime minister John Diefenbaker from endorsing the move. "I'm not going to talk about individual acts," he told reporters. "I'll just say that never in British or Canadian history has there been a case of anyone unknown to parliament or a legislature being asked to lead a party." He left no doubt his target was Mulroney.

The reason for Diefenbaker's animosity toward Mulroney was not only lack of experience and people close to Diefenbaker but also the allegation that Dalton Camp, the old Diefenbaker foe was backing him and that Mulroney was using an expensive campaign financed primarily by Power Corp., the huge Montreal conglomerate. The support of Camp for Mulroney was vehemently denied by both parties last questions about the financing of Mulroney's campaign were handled last convention by David Angus. Mulroney's response was reluctant to answer questions other than the campaign. Finally on the eve of the convention, Angus said he hoped to raise \$150,000 to \$200,000, including a seven-figure loan of \$100,000 from Power Corp. one of Mulroney's claims in Montreal.

That would put the Mulroney campaign on the same scale as Hellyer, Clark's and Stevens' (all three said earlier in the campaign they expected to spend up to \$175,000). But Mulroney's opponents doubt the figures and say he will spend \$500,000 at most. Mulroney was not required to give a full accounting until after the convention.

In contrast to the secrecy of Mulroney's campaign finances and the mystery about Wagner's fund, Flors Macdonald called a press conference the week before the convention to reveal her budget and the names of all donors who gave more than \$100. "Security is party finances," she declared.

"In one of the greatest causes of justice, cynicism and distrust about politics in the country," Macdonald declared her personal spending for the entire campaign as \$127,836.94, with \$25,000 of that targeted for the four-day convention in Ottawa. Among her backers were Goodman, who is also her chief fund-raiser and several of his friends, clients and associates. But the bulk of the donations came in small amounts from supporters across the country, including one in a letter addressed simply, "To Mr. Flors."

Whatever the outcome of the vote, the Tories had already made a winning critical from the days of Sir John A. Macdonald the party executive at the signing of the candidates, burned from boxes in favor of each bars a convention hospitalizing voters.

SEN. TONY HART, ROBERT KENNEDY

### GITAWA

#### ... to the aid of the party

The Tories were convulsed and in some cases downright seething. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, a millionaire gave less than \$100 to his party, after five at all Robert Stanfield was more generous, he contributed \$2,000 to the Conservative Party of Canada, like most other corporations, interested to hedge its political



PM's money to not within his mouth is

has by giving the Tories \$26,361 and the Liberals \$15,000. Stanfield says the funds are not to be used in any way to influence the election, but \$100 to the Conservative and only \$700 to the Liberals. That the heavy pile of documents made public this month under the new Access to Information Act revealed just who is supporting Canada's national political parties.

That will require the parties to file full financial statements and identify all donors who give more than \$100. showed the Liberals to be in the best shape financially. They came out of the July 1974 election with a surplus of \$700,000 and



The writers: Claude Wagner, Flors Macdonald, Paul Hellyer, Brian Mulroney

**Margaret Trudeau: "I'm lonely and I love people"**

her more than 10 years after returning from Linn Avenue, she stood at the spectacle of a rippling emotional debate. As each individual offered her own interpretation of every mother's love for her personality, Margaret Semler Tinsdale sought to explain and to explain because that explained the heart of the matter. She was a Christian! Her simplest response prompted laughter: "Growing Old Isn't Necessary Margaret!" as media personalities asked her for comments for evidence of at best poor judgment and at worst a total emotional collapse. She was perceived to be over-enthusiastic and would not be a "real" or "hardcore" fan! Her "vulnerable" and "sensitive" nature was a liability, a secret at times to be a dis-ordered flower child trying to break out of a cocoon of physical self-pity and at others to be a "real" or "hardcore" fan! She was perceived to be a woman on her own terms. Whatever she said it, her coming out more euphoric than the average Gwyneth died, added her position as something more than the

Public reaction to Margarete's actions was immediate and generally approving. Her office was inundated with more than 1,000 messages, double the number in all of 1975. Some accused her of "oversteering" Cuba's foreign policy, but most felt she had responded appropriately to the realities of the diplomatic change. In Mexico, the first leg of the tour, Margarete made personal history as a state functionary with an "extraordinary capacity for understanding," according to a Mexican official who heard she was charmed. "We Mexicans thought she was independent," said Enrique Gurrero, sous-chef of the Mexican foreign ministry. Mrs. Trudeau's "style was very spontaneous, genuine. It was a very spontaneous gesture," said President José Beltrán Hernández. Much more for personal and not intimate reasons to be infectious. In the last analysis, what attracted her is a set of traits that Kury had cultivated in her years in Cuba: she had learned some shorthand by wearing blue jeans and a T-shirt but seemed to delight her Cuban hosts. In Venezuela, Margarete made a hit with most journalists but caused a mix in Caracas when she asked a reporter to call her by the name Sophia Ringel, considered Margarete for twenty-four years, four-month-old Nichol in public. Mrs. Ringel and Margarete had "rescued the brands of good wine. Here in Venezuela, the Tradoules like they had in Cuba, they love to drink. I didn't like it that they were drinking fields. I didn't like it." But Mrs. Ringel made Margarete a hit with Venezuela's leading magazine, *Artemisa*, and with most of the diplomatic press. "Indisputably," concluded Armando, "my young and beautiful wife [Margarete] was the most successful of our Cuban girls but, unfortunately, not the stereotypical."

tributes of the professional diplomat "in fact in Ottawa, Macgregor wanted to go out of her way to explain, without apology, his actions in the case. She answered instead in places in those days that were little known to the public, and she was a prominent member of 24 Sussex Drive, the staid residence of the prime minister. Her husband, not yet 40, was a smooth person, not after women and even looked up anxiously at the National Press Club. As one point, though, her presence was there. She and the Prime Minister were guests at Government House, and she was a member of the House of Commons. Very Leader Robert Stanfield. After Stanfield spoke she continued and became Globe and Mail. General column. Geoffrey Stevens for critical comments he had written about the Latin American press. She was a member of the House of Commons, she stood up at a banquet. "I don't know whether to tell you, with this [a silver coin] or punch you." During Stanfield's speech, she gave a sharp thrust making angry remarks. When Trudeau inquired later in the evening of her behavior, she said she was not. She wanted to stay on for a while after he left. At the Press Club she found a few reporters for a drink. When Trudeau showed up looking uncomfortable she answered playfully, "I'll buy him a soda." Then she turned with her husband before going

Later that week she appeared on national television for a live interview with Don Tanner, an Ottawa journalist who has known her for several years. She talked clearly and openly about her break: her feelings about politics, her longing for a career as a photo-journalist, her quest for a home. "After I got married and had a baby, I got up at 5 a.m., prepared and nobody bothered me. I was a nobody, could say any word I wanted, I was free."

And then, "I just felt that people couldn't get through. I was going through a love-meltdown, wasn't any fun. From a flower child to the Prime Minister's lady, and I went through a lot of things where I thought that I had to be someone."

the other than myself. And then I started  
 part of building things up inside and  
 it came out much bigger and such herity  
 and such that I kind of consider (the  
 stage as a sort of bloody revelation in my  
 mind, you know. It was something like  
 "I'm not just a girl, I'm a woman,"  
 that was. "She told Turner that her life  
 had changed utterly on the wife of the  
 Prince. Moreover that she had not been  
 without error and pain." "I just feel I'm  
 just beginning, you know. I feel like I've  
 started my education. I had my university  
 education, but I had a very special type of  
 education, and I had five years' education  
 in the house of a prince. I had been  
 brought up Prince Master's wife. And  
 sometimes I've made mistakes and have  
 done things wrong and people have con-  
 sidered and let me know. And I have not  
 done the greatest job. I could have been  
 done. But I'm learning and I hope to  
 live for the rest of my life. For I really going  
 to be able to help."

At one point she cut herself as a protestor for the continued role of women. My message is that women have put to sleep thinking and started going together and using their time to work side by side with men. I think that's the only way to help women and the children. Now there are no more problems in Canada that I've been having with our children and their education. Recent studies have shown that we're really lacking in self-discipline. We're lacking in a lot of the basic qualities which will make a strong people. And we are blind. Nature has blessed us. But we're not using it. We're not using our strength and surely our people can pull up the socks and start working hard." In the conversation with Turner, Margaret demonstrated that she was possessed of a good working knowledge of herself. At one point she said, "I'm educated, that I've got a lot of things and have a lot of ideas."

In an interview with *Adelante*, she explained that she was marshaling her energies for a career as a photo-journalist. Mar

[illegible]

The "Organ of Migrant Trudens" have opened everybody's eyes about the young women, including apparently those of her husband in Vancouver, when a report noted that Margaret was crying over freedom. Trudens replied in mock surprise: "Is this not I always believe in the maximum independence for the maximum number of people?" In one after interview, Margaret said: "I want two passports, one that says 'I'm the Prince Minister's wife and the other that says 'I'm free.' Five years in the hellacious corridors of Ottawa have given her the first. It would appear that a few days of Canada have given her the second. CANDACE JAMES

mailed another \$2,140,639 between August 1, 1974, and July 31, 1975 (although not much of it from Liberal cabinet ministers, only a few of whom pay enough to warrant identification). Even with expenditures of \$7,894,768, the Liberals were still ahead on the pay list. Not so the Conservatives, whose audited statement shows considerable red ink. Faced with a \$750,000 deficit from the last election, they were able to generate only \$3,140,139 in donations in 1975. And, as they began operating again, the party still faced a pile of unpaid bills totaling \$117,000 last month, and a confidential memo from the party's chief bugman, Toronto lawyer Phil Verreault, indicated the PCs will have to somehow find a way eventually to pay off its father \$400,000 will owe on top of loans

Surprisingly, the New Democrats emerged as the most efficient fund raisers. Because their fiscal year is different from that of the Laborers and Teamsters, their first major drive only ends the last five months of 1974. It is also the only union drive that is so impressive: \$1,495,668, five weeks' worth of their success was due in large part to a "bidding spree" adulated by their supporters, which federal legislator Ed Markey (D-Mass.) called "the second or equivalent of a resurgence of the New Deal." The union's contribution accounted for almost \$1.3 million (80th percentile) of Larry Nyquist's and his wife's support the last \$120,000 and donations from organized labor made up another \$115,000. The star probably also benefited most from provisions of the Federal Election Act that grant a 10% bonus for contributions in excess of \$100 and on other contributions amount to above that

Happens, too, that the corporate bourgeoisie are beginning to give the total solution to political beggars. General Motors and four of the country's largest oil companies—Imperial Oil, Shell, Exxon and Petroleum Canada—have agreed to fund a new program, headed by Richard Storch, chairman of the Liberal Treasury committee, "to suppress . . . it's access to Watergate and that whole syndrome as an effort to play down suggestions that the corporations are buying friends with donations," he says. The program would provide the emerging Liberal hegemony in red-taped government effective way to make people give work by setting an example. He succeeded in raising \$100 each from four of the biggest people in his riding, thereby embarrassing someone else who dared to give more than \$100.

—RICHARD STORCH

## BRITISH COLUMBIA

### The way of the Mahga

Always a gentle people in a harsh but beautiful land, British Columbia's Nishga Indians understood patience long before the Anglican priests came among them, preaching all the virtues so successfully. A man wouldn't hurry the seasons. Or the salmon. Or the owl's call. In the 197 years



On the return flight Gar left Mrs. Truett for the press the woman she wrote and sang for Missquita Perez. Her unorthodox behavior and dress—including the jeans she wore on her official visit with Mrs. Perez to a Vietnamese department (J&F)—ultimately became the story of the hour.









"We've got a new military in people who stay on would not even join a union. We have the hospital workers on the bottom of the wage scale going on strike for the same reasons." Last April in Manitoba 70 government-employed doctors went on strike for higher fees, the first time in the province's history that medical men had struck. Even more unlikely as union members are university professors who, historically, were taught to inform staff associations, let alone bargaining with them. And yet this month the teaching staff at York University will become the first in the country to quit classed. One York professor, looking at the 39.25 two-year offer to Toronto's secondary-school teachers, said: "For the first time in memory, high-school teachers would be paid more than university professors. That's our incentive." The high-school teachers themselves, \$600 a year, provided the pay raise for more than two months to their first strike before the government ordered them back to work. Even the 13,000 members of the new bar have been lashed by the union. Two years ago, prodded by collapsing morale and an unwilling dissenting structure, 4,000 Mounties risked dismissal by attending organizing meetings which ultimately came to nothing. "The new command are bringing some change in the labor movement," says Curt's Harman. "They bring new knowledge, and a greater awareness. They are able to look at the more complex aspects of the economy and help you other means."

These new attitudes are also reflected in different ways. A few years ago, for instance, it was almost unheard of for rank-and-file workers to reject an agree-

ment imposed by their organizing committee. Now such rejection is common. "The leadership is being pushed and pushed hard," says Arthur Kruger, principal of the U of T Woodworkers' Council. "You get lots of militancy in a period of inflation. Guys in a plant are more willing now to hit the bricks for an extra six, seven, eight weeks to get what they want and you don't have that before." There are also more strikes. Between 1967 and 1971, only 53 of all contract negotiations in commercial industries ended in a walkout. But in 1972, the figure rose sharply to 104%. The new militancy has also seen the return of the one-year collective agreement. It took almost 20 years or more to develop the two and three-year contract, but with inflation and the union's power to overturn contracts, the multi-year agreements which provided some stability in the economy, has become a thing of the past. And so has the concept of giving wage demands to profits. Now the industrial unions go all out for high settlements, as was the case with the 1972 change in the labor movement contract. Labor theorists say that, for one thing, there has been a breakdown in what they choose to call "bribes of corporate capitalism." This used to mean that if Company X settled for 9% and Company Y went for 8%, then the workers over at Company Z felt they should get about the same. No more. John Cuspa, professor of Industrial Relations at the U of T, says, "The fundamental problem is that there is no agreement on who should get what share of the national pie. The old (income) brackets is dead. There was a time when everybody knew where they fit in the pecking order. The only agreement I find these days is that every group has decided that it isn't as high in the pecking order as it should be. Everybody is in a race to see what they can get." No one knows his "piece" any-

more. The idea that income earned should be related to the job done is dead. Income now is geared to what others make and what the cost of living is, no matter how small the wage. Larry Brown, executive secretary of the Saskatchewan Federation of Labor, points this way. "It doesn't make sense for someone doing a job to be paid less for it. If people can't be proud of their job, get some satisfaction out of it, the least they want is to be well paid for it."

The threat of the new movement began at the real basics during the administration of Lester Pearson. If any politician touched off the tinder that fanned the labor movement in new directions it was Pearson, and he did it with two maverick decisions. In 1966 workers on the St. Lawrence Seaway were unhappy. They were demanding a strike which would stop cargo in the port of Montreal and disastrously affect the shipment of wheat to such critical export markets. Within days of the strike deadline Pearson announced a government offer—a 20% increase in a two-year contract. In return of 9% and 6% wage increases it was done: one key group in the economy had been favored over others, which had an effect on later arbitrations, particularly in dealings with workers in the public sector. Arbitrators saw the willingness of the federal government to settle on a substantial figure rather than endure a troublesome strike, so they followed suit. After all, the government, as employer, was different from private industry in that it was a theoretically limitless pool of resources—public money.

The second fanning point came a year later, in 1967 when Pearson announced that Canada's federal civil servants would henceforth have the right to strike. It seemed almost at first glance that the public

## Looking ahead to another 'Year of the Strike'

Against a backdrop of peace and wage cuts, 18 union members' union has left the country's organized work force will be seeking new contracts in 1979. Among them are workers in a number of key industries, including below, in which strikes would disrupt the country as a whole. (In some cases, can include expired in 1975 and bargaining has been carried over into the current year.)

Industry	Number of Workers Covered	Expiry Date of Contracts
Auto (Ford, GM, AMC, Chrysler)	53,900	September
Rail (congregational employees)	94,446	December/75
CBC (journalists, stagehands, professional employees)	6,480	July/75
Meat packing	10,740	May
Retail Food Stores	31,236	March/October
Public Service		
Federal (Government & NAT)	32,145	All Year
Provincial (Government & Education)	4,085 (BC)	All Year
	64,790 (Ont.)	
	38,228 (Man.)	
	99,930 (Que.)	
	308 (Que.)	
	10,485 (Nfld.)	
	21,125 (N.S.)	
	328 (P.E.I.)	
	21,815 (Nfld.)	
Municipal (Government, Police, Firemen)	16,735	All Year

sector should ask for and be given that right. Traditionally, public servants had occupied positions of privilege. More important they had good security, some knowledge, skill level and pension plans before anyone else. But beginning in the Fifties, pension plans and such have become a common feature of collective agreements signed in the private sector. There were longer and longer periods of full employment, which made government job security seem less important. Inferred workers were moving into the middle class, which formerly had been the preserve of the white-collar worker. And the salary of the industrial worker had caught up to and overtaken the civil servant. As a result, the public servants with their newly won power began to increase their demands. Workers at key areas went out on strike. People who usually tended to stay in the country—gas handlers, postal workers, air traffic controllers—found they could strike effectively. The settlements got higher and higher. "The government's afraid irresponsibly," according to Arthur Kruger. "It was a lot easier to give in to the union than to go through a lot of labor unrest. So the government's availability there in the early 50s or 60s." Other civil servants tried to follow suit. For two years, the 15,000 members of the Civil Service Association of Ontario waged an advertising campaign costing \$750,000 in an effort to gain the right to strike. They lost the battle but won a preliminary right in the making of appeal and arbitration boards. Referring to new militancy, the association last October changed its name to Ontario Public Service Employees Union.

The public provision of "big labor" in Canada is embodied in the Civil and Labor Congress, the biggest and most visible labor organization in the country. But it is only as strong as its members want it to be. The real power lies with the strength of its 115 affiliates, unions such as CUPE, the

United Brotherhood of America, the UAW, the Canadian Timberworkers' Union, and the International Association of Machinists. The CUPE says one labor spokesman, it "labor's chamber of commerce," meaning that while it speaks out on matters of national importance, it is the affiliates that deal with such day-to-day matters on negotiating collective agreements, coordinating strikes and handling grievances. According to the leader of one of the most powerful CUPE affiliates, it is the affiliates that represent the broadest amount of power the unionists required to give up. There is nothing to prevent the affiliates from defying the congress. It has all the problems of a loosely knit federation. But although the affiliates may successfully defy the rulings of the CUPE and quarrel with its leaders, few are willing to risk possible exposure from what wide unions like to call "the honor of labor."

The CUPE's governed by a 38-member executive council four of whom are full-time officers. The most at the top is Joe Morris, president of the CUPE since 1971. It is in Morris, a stocky, 60-year-old former logger, that reporters may find comment on a federal budget. A Thirteen Speech or a new government program such as the proposed wage and price controls. "Joe Morris is the guy who usually says most of the right things," says one union public relations man. In the Forties Morris built a position for himself as a battle to wrest control of British Columbia labor from Communist unions. Before his election as an executive vice-president of the CUPE in 1962 he was a local organizer for the International Brotherhood of America. Prior to the 1974 CUPE convention he was chosen by the executive council over the then incumbent, Bill O'Brien, as the official candidate (the vote was 10 to 5). At the convention, his only opponents were an unknown oil union delegate from Nova Scotia, Bill Joe Morris, by name, and Canadian Master Labor in the name of



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110,000 people. George Meany, leader of the United States. For one thing, Canada has 11 labor law jurisdictions, compared with one in the United States. For another, the CIO spends more of its money keeping peace among its affiliates. For example, in 1974 leaders of the International Brotherhood of Teachers withheld the 26 cents a month per capita cost dues in a battle over autonomy for Canadian sections of international unions. The leading trades leadership reversed the standards. The dispute was resolved after Meany met with leaders of the international unions. "The leaders of the CIO have their backbones and their resolve," says Arthur Kravitz, "but those guys do know each other. There is some degree of union cooperation at that level." The guy in the steel mill couldn't care less about a jurisdictional dispute or some damn thing 500 miles away, but Lynn Williams [of the Steelworkers] does care because it's involved."

If the CIO is given to squabbling in public, don't expect to see it on October 13 when Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau went on television to announce price and wage controls. "There was a period where we were too simplistic," says Shirley Carr, the energetic executive vice-president of the CIO. "Certainly that has changed with the increase of the price and wage board which we have been monitoring but solid solidarity across the land, industry as trade unions, in working people and in ordinary citizens." In a sense, the price and wage controls have magnified the importance of the CIO because more than in recent years labor now needs a strong spokesman. "The key to labor's defense of the controls lies in public perception," according to John Crago. "It is a question of how far the public perception of this program is being understood of a can job. If they begin to think that this is a one-sided program that is beating down on one sector of the community more than others,

then the stage will be set for labor defense of the program." The CIO's failure to deal with prices in the first three months of its existence has only reinforced labor's view of controls as a "non job," and with 1.6 million workers going into bargaining in key industries this year, the atmosphere is ripe for an all-out CIO confrontation with the government.

Labor leaders across the country are uneasy about trouble ahead, but once the government forecasts trouble in Quebec, where contracts covering close to half the province's labor force came up for renewal this year. According to Marcel Pélissier, president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, Quebec will face in 1976 an economic crisis similar to the hard times of the Thémis, the village, Louis Robitaille, the labor head, president of the Quebec Federation of Labor, says the whole social structure is in danger of crumbling. "The day is coming when the government will go to many people angry, people like pensioners. There are widows and the minimum wage those deprived of the right to negotiate contracts, that the whole thing will just blow up. Faced with measures like the 10% freeze, a worker today has only two choices: either he sits there and lets the government walk all over him or he gets up and fights." There is general agreement in Quebec that the workers have to fight for their rights, but not everyone agrees that radical action, such as the general strike of 1972, is what is needed. At the root of the militancy there isn't the same radical class struggle ideology that motivated the union leadership in Quebec for the past decade. It's more a feeling among people who have been seriously well-off in the past, that their government isn't protecting their interests in the face of today's economic pressures.

Over the next few months, the CIO will fight on two fronts: first, it will continue to battle the government on the subject of

controls and, second, it will try to do something to stem the rising public resentment of the labor movement. Two recent Gallup Poll indicate Canadians are more in favor in their feelings than ever before. In a July poll, 71% of those polled felt that in vital public services should be controlled. In the second, 67% or two out of every three Canadians, thought union leaders for the most part are "reasonable and agreeable." Such a view, if widely held, will cost the CIO dearly in terms of public support. A showdown would be justified by one of three sets of key negotiations—the railway union, the key negotiations and agreements involving members of CIO. If railway workers balk at the 6% advance they are off a legal strike, the country up will be a month and force the government to act. The 54,000 auto workers, negotiating in the fall, could receive an international settlement higher than 10% which would put the Auto-Industries Board and the cabinet in a precarious position. Repetition of the agreement might mean a prolonged auto strike—or worse. Last month CIO president Leonard Woodcock wanted that any strike during that destroyed wage parity between Canadian and American auto workers should jeopardize the Canada-US relationship. Because of its power and its rhetoric, CIO could be the catalyst for a strategic confrontation with the government. Agreements between municipalities and CIO are expiring across the country. In Metro Toronto, for example, municipal workers could effectively shut down the operations of the city and its five boroughs.

This much is now certain: the federal government is constrained as price and wage controls, the labor movement is in an unenviable position to oppose to them, and a confrontation is inevitable. When it happens, 1975, for all its turmoil will look like a year of tranquility in comparison.

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# The Kissinging technique

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE LOVE A COWBOY, A LONE MAN FACING DOWN THE OUTLAWS. SO THAT'S WHAT HENRY GIVES THEM

By Walter Stewart

One day in May, 1975, when Henry Kissinger of Washington and Le Duc Tho of Hanoi were negotiating a Vietnam cease-fire in a village in Paris, The Harvard scholar threw the bargaining table and said, "You know, Mr. Kissinger, I want to tell you the most important, sincerely and honestly, you are a liar."

History does not record Kissinger's reply. If it was as forthright as The's statement, he'd better have said, "Not at all, I am a publicist, that's all. Living with the secretary." He might even, with a hint of coyness, have drawn on the negotiations then in motion to prove his point. Kissinger had approved the bombing of Cambodia and the "double dirty bombing" in which the media were ordered to attack inside Vietnam; he approved the removal of Laos and Cambodia from the bombing raids on North Vietnam and the making of North Vietnamese ports on the eve of the 1973 Presidential election, he helpfully announced that "Peace is at hand" when, in fact, he knew that talks had broken down and months of fighting lay ahead. To prove he was a considerate liar, an entirely a supporter of President Nixon's war effort, he had actually been Nixon's advocate. In public, he appeared a truce-maker after peace, once too busy to drop his marines and his bombs and dash halfway around the world to ask someone to sue him; he was named Nobel Peace Prize Laureate for 1973—surely one of the silliest bits of public fraud since the last sale of the Brooklyn Bridge. Tho, named a co-recipient with Kissinger and the great Russian leader, knew "When your government and peace is really retained in South Vietnam," he said, "I will consider acceptance of this prize."

It is instructive to note how Henry carried us off. Whether he plans to turn and in the moment, the U.S. Secretary of State is so one of his treachery down spits, the aftermath of some trifling snafus that beddled on him during recent investigations into the CIA—these are lessons to be learned from a media opportunist. It is an paradox to know, for example, that what Kissinger is really good at is not so much diplomacy as public relations: that his strength lies not in his grasp of world affairs but in his exploitation of the American press. He is not an independent contacts are not with foreign leaders but

with journalists in the United States.

It is also important to know that one of the results of his skill has been to focus attention almost exclusively on these areas where his interests lie, to the neglect of all others. When Kissinger came into China, we hear nothing but China, when he considers the Middle East, we are dominated by the Middle East; when, briefly, he turns his thoughts to Europe, all U.S. foreign policy turns with him, and it was a battle stretched to his single job.

In his personalization of policy, he resembles one of his prototypes, Prince Klemens Wenzel Niponisch-Lorich Von Metetrach of Austria, the subject of his Harvard doctoral thesis. However, the stakes are a great deal higher than they were in Metetrach's day. For example, Kissinger has shown little enthusiasm for the problems of world population growth and food shortages, the United States, strong in rhetoric, has in fact played confused and contradictory role in the search for solutions and is currently in the grip of a vague for "disengagement" in which food production is to be left to "the disciplines of the marketplace" and to hell with the starving millions. Kissinger has not yet turned his attention to Latin America (he said recently that he hoped to visit there . . . someday). And he is not much concerned with Canada—which is probably a blessing—with the intractable relations and relations with the United States like those of the India-Pakistan war in 1971 was that "for a good part of the year, Kissinger simply did not have time to deal with it."

Angela provided another disquieting example. The United States stopped the civil war there largely on the way so of Kissinger and against the advice of African experts in the same department, who felt that if the Russians wanted to get out of Angola, let them. The administration was concerned only with a new stream of trade and assistance before congressional committees showed that U.S. arms and money were already in place, and more millions had been earmarked to go. By that time Kissinger was begging that America's vital interests were in stake, and God only knew what mischief would flow from a

Senate move to cut off the military aid. President Ford was drawn to and was soon shamelessly threatening the Russians and convincing them, and trying to sell out the terms. Angola had been blown into a major controversy. Kissinger's attachment had become America's policy, even if it made no sense.

A curious way to conduct foreign policy (although there are precedents: John Foster Dulles, like Kissinger, dominated a Presidency—Eisenhower—by the force of his personality and dominated foreign policy by his personal tastes). And, in theory at least, Kissinger disapproves. He is always telling us at press conferences and briefings that policy decisions are based on "the national interest," not personality. But since it is he who decides what is in the national interest, it works out about the same. In any event, he has never shied away from taking credit where he felt it was due. At a Washington dinner party, a man came up and said, "Mr. Kissinger, I want to thank you for saving the world." Kissinger was gracious: "You're welcome," he replied. On another occasion, he described his Italian journalist friend Fulvia how he would be wonderful. "The man points to the mechanics of my vacuum cleaner from the fact that I have said alone. The Americans love this immensely. The Americans love the cowboy, who leads the cowboy, because the cowboy who leads the cowboy, now lives all alone on his horse, and nothing else. Perhaps just save with a gun, because he does not shoot. He acts, and that is enough, being in the right place at the right time. In terms of Western. This romantic and surprising character seems me because being alone has always been part of my style, or, if you wish, of my technique."

But remember that one of the fundamental characteristics of the Western Hero was that he could take up an entire side of a range war. The good guy became the bad guy, by virtue of his presence—and vice versa. So too, with Kissinger: he has changed his stance time after time on major issues and is at a moment of his success that new Kissinger has been born, or so he became the new U.S. foreign policy.

In 1957 Kissinger wrote a whole book, *Nuclear Weapons and Foreign Policy*, to argue that if it came to a showdown with the Russians, the United States could not should it nuclear war. In fact, he had so-called "limited" nuclear warfare even in





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# The World

## THE LOCKHEED REVELATIONS IMPERIL THE DUTCH MONARCHY

Lockheed Canada's president, A. C. Korchi, failed up a Senator Frank Church and disclosed the \$12 million the company had covertly dispatched to foreign officials and businessmen as "gifts" given to "improve the climate" for future sales of the company's aircraft. Senator Church had another word for the payments. "I would call them bribes," he said. Impeding the disclosure was the disclosure and testimony revealed before the Senate subcommittee hearing on international corporations was devastating. Although company officials have so far refused to identify the recipients by name, testimony before the Church committee revealed that prominent and powerful people in at least nine countries were involved. In their explicit government leaders, reportedly and publicly—banned investigations into what was clearly a full-blown international scandal.

But it was Korchi's testimony about two payments totaling \$1.1 million to promote the sale of Lockheed's F-104 fighters to the Netherlands that caused the greatest stir. All Korchi would tell the senators was that the payoff went to "a high government official in the Netherlands" after the company rejected the idea of giving the official a private jet because of the possibility of raising the legitimacy. This testimony narrowed the possibility of the recipient considerably: within hours a shaken Prime Minister Joop den Uyl announced the Dutch government concluded that the mysterious official was in fact probably their own Prime Minister.

Even as the Dutch hastily faced a special commission of enquiry to investigate the startling allegations, the shock sank in slowly to Queen Juliana's 14 million subjects. The since it, repeated and repeatedly substantiated House of Orange had been weakened. Though the 66-year-old Queen refused to let it be known that she denied the accusations, a high Dutch official suggested that if this price is found guilty of any wrongdoing, it would have serious implications for the country: the Queen would probably abdicate, the prince would be forced into exile and the future of the world's oldest monarchy would be in jeopardy.

By all accounts, the 64-year-old Bernhard is hardly in need as prince consort the state provides him with a private allowance of \$300,000 annually and Queen Juliana, regarded as one of the richest women in the world (estimated assets

\$190 million), is reported to have given the prince the sum of her vast investments. Moreover, Bernhard is not known to be a gambler, to give expensive gifts to friends or to move with the jet set. His marriage to the queen and her role in formal justice has not been complete bliss. In recent years the relationship has served a number of secrets, most notably Juliana's strange involvement with a Dutch leader hired to cure the youngest of her four daughters, Maria Christina, of near-blind-

ness that with vast wealth at his disposal and his bond was hence a stake, Bernhard would hardly be susceptible to the temptation of a bribe.

Even so, wealth and power hardly appeared to be a deterrent for others who craved it. In Japan, Lockheed's "secret agent" turned out to be the infamous Yoshio Kodama, a shadowy right-wing Japanese politician and a friend to the underworld whose personal wealth, estimated to be one billion dollars, gave him



Korchi, Prince Bernhard where did the Lockheed money go?

ness in 1956. In fact the Dutch have carefully ignored his reported substantial wealth and the long absence from the prince as purely private matters that are overshadowed by his loyalty to the throne.

It wasn't always so. When he first appeared on the Dutch scene as Prince of Lippe-Biesterfeld and married Juliana in 1937, there was widespread suspicion in Holland about his Teutonic background. When Juliana died with two daughters to Canada to escape the Nazis, Bernhard refused orders to say safely in Ottawa and flew to England to find Dutch resistance operations. There, his devotion to the Dutch cause called all criticism and later led to his appointment as Inspector General of the Armed Forces. The role in this capacity was the centre of the scandal and the gathering confusion only added to the confusion. J. Van Eken, a member of the government's defense committee, fully acknowledged that "the decision to buy Starfighters, I know the Prince Bernhard never advised the government." Others ar-

roy seems to be the highest government officials.

Considering the global scope of Lockheed's payoffs, it wasn't surprising that Canadian plans to spend \$500 million for 16 Lockheed Green long-range transports were frozen pending the outcome of emergency talks between Defense Minister James Dickey and the U.S. aircraft manufacturer. There were fears that Lockheed might not be able to complete the deal although Richardson assured that was "no question" of any Canadian official being involved in the scandal.

Clearly hampered by the disclosures, Lockheed's chairman William G. Foran and president Korchi resigned at a meeting of company directors, and many more changes—both in personnel and policy—can be expected as the Dutch investigations reveal more shabby business practices. Rising a mist as appear at the hearings and there are already rumors that it has been involved in similar payoffs.

BOB MANTONMAN/ANTHONY KORCHI

## Leonid Brezhnev: a plodder's progress

When Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev dramatically swept Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev out of power and assumed leadership of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party on October 34, 1964, his chances of survival at the top were not considered good. He was relatively unknown, non-descript and thought of by friends and enemies alike as a mediocre administrator. The Soviet polka king, Clavie Western diplomats in Moscow and know-it-all sociologists abroad would be in aiff "as a party boss, a colorful apostle" or "apparatus man." They were to discover their mistakes on a daily basis.

In a now 31 year later, and on February 24 Brezhnev delivered the political report to the 23rd Party Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, the third such document to bear his stamp. His several decade personal reign of hegemony in the Western power, despite occasional glambos and office ill-founded claims about the state of his health, left no one who could doubt the dominance of the Soviet leader but also about the changing nature of political power in the Soviet Union. The question of Brezhnev's own country is to whether Brezhnev would have to return to the Party Congress read for him because of his age and patches of poor health. Remarkable a knowledgeable Russian, undoubtedly Brezhnev is not a Stakha. The content of the report, he cannot realize the leader Brezhnev is going to read the report.

What is the secret of Brezhnev's political longevity? He is neither a charismatic personality nor an external revolutionary. The answer is in complexity is in man. He came to power with the support of only a few members of a political elite which was becoming nervous about the direction being taken by Nikita Khrushchev. In a way, Khrushchev had dominated the Khrushchev-Sinitsin terminal machine, but his enterprise weaknesses and frequent shifts in policy had caused a feeling of insecurity within the vast party-government bureaucracy. They may not have been sure how Brezhnev would shape up, but they desperately wanted a change. It appears to have worked out for the best, because in the decade since he came to power Brezhnev has brought to them what they wanted most—security of tenure. There have been no mass changes of party and government officials since he took over the leadership. There have been no social or ideological upheavals, either.

It may all appear effortless, even accessible, now, but he came to power as the nominal head of a collective leadership that was not on collective leadership, an election making by consensus, and he had to struggle, and struggle hard, to establish his authority. In fact, it was not until the 24th Party Congress in 1971 that Brezhnev was able to establish his political mastery over his colleagues in the party leadership.

What is remarkable is that he has persevered with consensus politics even after making his own authority supreme, very slowly outstripping his limits. It is striking too, that since he came to power very few changes have taken place in the politburo which in the preceding body of (his Soviet Communist Party and, in such, the highest political authority in the country. Only two close-out cases of political enemies have taken place. One was the ousting in 1972 of the Ukrainian leader and senior politburo member, Pyotr Shelest, who opposed the first Brezhnev-Nixon summit and that it is weighed in terms of debate. The other was the deposed last year of Alexander Sholepov, the head of the KGB under Khrushchev and subsequently a prominent political figure among the younger generation of Soviet leaders. It is widely believed in Moscow that some time toward the end of 1974 when Brezhnev was in poor health Sholepov tried to assassinate him out of power. He failed and paid the price.

The endurance of the collective leadership, even if it is somewhat modified, stemmed down from, too often to Brezhnev's political skill and temperament. He has been a tough commander and mediator throughout his long political career. Born 70 years ago to a poor worker's family in the Ukraine, he studied hard enough.

**Brezhnev with the Nixon at the summit talks in 1973, and at a state dinner for October Revolution celebrations last year. In the Stalin, had not a candidate either**

ment and then became a sociological engineer. Since 1938 he has been a sort of party boss big and small. At an important stage in his career during the war he was a political commissar in the army and his excellent war record has been of great help to him ever since. After the war he was a political commissar in the navy for a time. On the contrary, his greatest achievement before taking over from Khrushchev was in maintaining the Khrushchev regime's successful virgin lands reclamation scheme in Kazakhstan. It is in the varied background that made Brezhnev a suitable candidate to replace Khrushchev in the first place. It also gave him a valuable reason for the political positioning and fighting to ensure his survival at the top. Brezhnev learned how to get results with a politician's sense of persistence and wit. Characteristically, no one among his associates is known to be his particular favorite and there is absolutely no evidence that he is trying to promote anyone to take his place. If he prematurely announced any one to his successor it would destroy the success of the collective leadership and not coincidentally endanger his position as its head. Unlike Khrushchev who was unprepared to advise and succumb to a degree, Brezhnev gives the impression of being a chairman of the board, albeit a very powerful chairman to whom the other members of the board answer freely. He does not always get his way but he does and sometimes he gets his way with great

difficulty. He had a very tough time, for instance, making his colleagues agree to restore Richard Nixon in Moscow just after the American President had named the officer and started bombing North Vietnam in 1972. After the crucial politburo meeting on the question he told the 15th Central Committee to Moscow "My Ambassador, it has been one of the hardest days of my life"—or words to that effect.

Brezhnev's standing with the Russian people is a more complex and delicate matter. Soviet leaders are selected not by the people but by the elite of the Communist Party. The relationship between the Soviet people and their leader is like an Oriental marriage: they fall in love with him after the marriage, not before. To survive he has to win them over. In the Soviet people look to Stalin. In the beginning they look to Khrushchev. In Brezhnev's case, they were indifferent in the beginning and have come to appreciate him only during the past few years. "He is a good man"—this is how common people often describe Brezhnev. He is not a tyrant like Stalin, he is not as much like Khrushchev and, if he is not brilliant, neither is he unattractive. He is earnest and his importance for his people, in one respect, in particular, Brezhnev is that the whole has the support of the masses, especially the growing urban middle class from whose ranks the country's political elite is drawn. Surely he deserves to have the Soviet standard of living to the comfortable bourgeois level of the Americans. During the 11 years of power, no other act has received such fervent support in all sectors of the Soviet people as his involvement with Nixon and America. It signified psychological equality with the United States, with the promise of mutual equality to follow.

For his need deal with the Americans Brezhnev needed status. During his early years in power, a party boss in Moscow was asked by a member of his audience whether there was any danger of another "personality cult" in the Soviet Union (a euphemism for Stalinist dictatorship). He dismissed the idea totally. "How can there be a personality cult," he said, "when there is no personality." It would have been difficult to dispute the unshakable beliefs of Khrushchev that Brezhnev has adopted, as well as a personality problem. As a member of a collective leadership, how could he establish his authority without destroying the character of his leadership?

On the other hand, if he could not rise above

the others, how could he deal on equal terms with the leaders of other governments who were men in their own house? Thus, the logical impression, in power, at home and abroad, forced Brezhnev's performance. At the time of the 24th Party Congress in 1971, his message was complete, and a social campaign was begun to portray him as not only the leader but the leader. This had an effect on the foreign as well as the domestic fronts. Voting deputies were no longer satisfied with seeing only Pyotr Shelest, Alexander Korygin, they wanted to meet Brezhnev and he, in turn, was not long before Brezhnev took over completely the handling of major foreign policy matters which previously he had left to Korygin in his absence. At the 24th Party Congress, Brezhnev had down the long-term foreign policy objectives aimed at détente.

To justify détente he needed ideological underpinning and found it in a very simple formula: he argued that if material progress was to be made there had to be stability, order and discipline, not democracy, it meant the erosion of intellectual ferment that began after the death of Stalin had continued and, in fact, gathered momentum after Khrushchev was removed from power. In part it was inspired by the fear that there might be a return to Stalinist terror in part by a growing belief shared by sophisticated Russians that post-Stalin change had not gone far and deep enough. To Brezhnev and his colleagues, and indeed to the majority of the people, this made little sense. They argued that to continue the process of liberalization would be to undermine the stability of the state system. The Soviet saturation in Czechoslovakia in 1968 was only called "Prague's" enlightened experiment in Prague, it also ordered the dissidents at home and destroyed whatever remote chance they had of finding more popular support. By putting down dissent Brezhnev legitimized his grip on the leadership. The way out of the leadership, however, abused by liberals abroad, but he was sure to be in full control of the situation, which established his negotiating position with the West, above all with the United States. Such as the president of power.

Brezhnev's personal dilemma was magnified, rather, relatively overriding any attitudes, internal and external. His belief in détente was based on four important considerations. First, if the Soviet standard of living was to be raised quickly, large on-

ten of foreign technology and capital would be required, capital would not be forthcoming unless there was some easing of cold-war attitudes and tensions. Second, if the Soviet Union's resources were to be available to increase the country's standard of living, it would have to be controlled and, if possible, halt the race for ever-more sophisticated and expensive weapons. This, too, could only be achieved by détente. Third, détente, on the right hand, would appear to enable the Soviet Union to use its military and political power with the United States. Finally, détente would contain the Chinese, blocking the erosion of a Sino-American coalition aimed against the Soviet Union.

Détente has failed to bring about an immediate end to the arms race, but it has ended oil of living, lapses of foreign technology and capital have not materialized on the scale Brezhnev envisaged. It is clear that he and his advisers overestimated the extent of the economic gains the Soviet Union would derive from détente, but it was a big win in all other respects it has been a great success. He can point to the huge gains purchased from the United States in 1972 and 1973, purchases that probably would not have been possible without détente. He can point to the Sino-Soviet agreement in 1972 of the strategic arms limitation agreements. He can point to a general improvement in the external and political climate, despite the clamour over Portugal, Angola, the Middle East and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. He can point to the fact that signs of moving toward accommodation with Moscow. But for the Soviet people the fact that détente has not automatically improved their standard of living is a disappointment. They are not sure that the gains from détente have been shared, he cannot escape responsibility for having aroused unrealistic expectations.

Nevertheless, Brezhnev remains unavailable for the moment. He will appear before the 25th Party Congress in 1976 as the victor of the foreign policy. He will continue to run the country, carry on, perhaps for a long time. The people give him credit for the last but after more than a decade of his stewardship the Soviet Union is on a strange, more stable and more relaxed, but not more free, road of living. His grip is so, though inevitably there is grumbling about shortages of foodstuffs (particularly meat), high quality consumer goods and other creature comforts. Materially, the gap between the towns and country remains a big one. Certainly a price has been paid for this achievement: the enforced ideological and intellectual conformity, the restrictions on travel abroad and emigration, the ad hocified severing of a tiny minority of political and cultural leaders. But the masses do not care about these shortcomings or their long-term effect on society. They feel more assured if they can buy oranges in the local market, says Brezhnev understands this. It is what has sustained him in power. (BY MICHAEL













# Environment

IN ORDER TO 'SAVE' LONG HARBOR, THEY HAD TO DESTROY IT

Two years ago, Long Harbor was a typical sleepy Newfoundland outpost. A dirt road made its way slowly through the village, wandering through lots of some miles of rugged countryside to the Trans-Canada Highway 40 miles from St. John's. Roads generally faded to drive unimproved, unexciting, industry was unknown. Then along came Joey Benfield with his motto "jobs, jobs, jobs." Attempts to attract industry, in search of such considerations as economic development and energy came to the winds inevitably.

Because of the plant's extensive woods and growing vegetation. Now, government officials say, practically all trees and shrubs within a one-to-two-mile radius of the plant are dead, while the tops are burned off for use for about eight miles around. Inside the plant, workers were beginning to worry about health and safety conditions. A succession of wildcat strikes ensued. Finally, in 1973, officials shut down with federal and provincial environmental officials to work out a five-year plan for cleaning up the operation. Griff Benfield, director

of a meeting with Moore, and asked that Moore refuse to guarantee him on the matter of possible health hazards to plant workers among one of the fluoride emissions, Moore's industrial relations manager for the industry. "We pay a lot of attention to our employees because they're exposed to acids and dust. We have a bloody good program and it's well known to the federal and provincial health people." **KARLE MURPHY**

## Down to the sea in banglows

Ever since his predecessor emerged from the provincial coast and dissolved shores, man's natural environment has been laid. The land on a, limited only in, and left it reluctantly only to stand or fall. Now, as man's natural environment is making out of land and has begun to consider water as a habitational alternative. At least that's the rationale behind a Vancouver company's plans for Canada's first aquatic village—a collection of prefabricated floating houses to be located in the harbor at the foot of Burnaby Avenue. North Vancouver City Council has approved plans for 34 of the units, known as "casas," and the promoters hope this breakthrough will lead to similar schemes elsewhere. Toronto, as Lake Ontario, and Montreal, on the St. Lawrence, are obvious potential markets.

The water-coolable and made from fibreglass polyethylene and fibreglass—are designed to cost \$15,000 (including purchase and transport) and the harbor, which in Vancouver, one could \$400,000. They measure 19-by-40 feet (and can reach more as boats) Japanese built boats combine two styles/designs to be water houses. Purchasers will pay a \$125-a-month fee for house-vent and parking rights, while the promoters (Premier Mobile Structures International Ltd.) have pledged to pay North Vancouver a yearly "rent" in lieu of property taxes.

According to Frank Ogden, the 55-year-old former teacher/broadcasting/globe-trotter who is a partner in Premier Mobile Structures, there was initial skepticism in North Vancouver. "When you say 'houseboat' is an admission, what leap into has made in the image of a happy living in a chicken coop on a hill." With this in mind, Vancouver design Dick Mysterle sought to make the "casas" as modern and livable as possible. Says Ogden: "If you don't have to pay for the land, you can have everything in it. luxury housing for a fraction of home costs." **BRUCE APPLETON**



UNCO plant at Long Harbor: once the town was poor but lively, now it's just poor

Benfield's advertisements of cheap power caught the eye of the Electric Reduction Co. of Canada (erco) and (all) K. piers, Albrigh and Wilson.

erco wanted to produce phosphoric acid by the process of electric reduction, and Newfoundland offered ideal conditions—very deepwater ports, cheap power and low pollution standards. That arco had been forced to compound forces in Port Maitland, Ontario, for damage to other arco plant's waste caused to their compound to matter as a trap to Newfoundland. It wasn't long before arco was in trouble. arco would build the plant, creating 400 jobs in a depressed area, and the government would deliver up to 130 megawatts of power a year (about the same as St. John's annual consumption) for 25 years at rates as low as 2.5 cents per kilowatt hour.

But Joey Benfield's dream mutated into a nightmare. In 1968, the plant's first year of full production, it had begun emitting smoke. They had been killed by the liquid effluent being pumped into the harbor. It cost the company more than \$300,000 to build a d-ops with fishermen who disintegrated compensation after Long Harbor was closed to fishing. They were to come. A heavy concentration of

# Travel

IT'S MAINLY BECAUSE OF THE FISH

Tombou, or, as they're known in the village of St. Anne de la Pénitence, are pretty popular, are cheap, are not very big. But they are very powerful. They must be, to have someone like Patricia Rhodes from her home in Mexico City to the 13,000 square feet of the St. Lawrence in February. She is not alone. Every weekend 40,000 amateur fishermen descend on the village, 50 miles west of Quebec City, in search of the real game in the shape of the key but very tasty (average length 12 inches). While they're at it, they leave behind an estimated two-million dollars and turn St. Anne de la Pénitence into a beach village during the dead of winter.

"We are the frozen capital of the world," boasts Robert MacNeil, who rents all cabins to comfortable fishermen who pay him \$6 for a 10-hour stay. "Why, we even draw people from Arizona, California and from as far away as Japan." Inhabiting a growth industry not in Quebec but in Ontario (fishermen by their hook on Lake St. Lawrence during winter weeks), offers other weary Canadians a place where the winter weather can be a challenge for each other for a chance to beat a hook plus all the comforts of home.

During the winter season at St. Anne de la Pénitence, 1,200 cabins dot the shore. They are all equipped with electric lights and heaters. Some, like 50-year-old Montreal accompanier Pierre LaChapelle's, have seven sets and beds. MacNeil's cabins, at the St. Anne de la Pénitence, are two to five, with hot and cold running water, power, heat, hot water, television, and radio which, in turn, is a perfect outdoor through a public address system. The cabins are laid out in boulevards connected to the village's streets. And some villagers, knowing a

good thing, formed a company to supply street lights, snow removal, garbage collection and heated chemical toilets. Cabins mostly have space for 10, although some can accommodate 40.

Angry parties—fishermen who risk the very specific threat, for example—would be expelled at the up-fishing technique. But there's no denying its effectiveness: the average wintered catch is 55 per hour. Heavy cut lines, each weighted with a two-ounce lead weight with two hooks baited with all that fish chopped liver, are hung every 10 metres down the length of a trench cut in the ice.

The lines are lowered to within an inch of the bottom for the best results. When the proper depth is achieved, the scene turns Patricia Rhodes, for example, just putting her line tangled. "It won't get the fish off the hooks fast enough. They're even grabbing the empty hooks."

Tombou were first reported in the region in 1634 by two Jesuit priests who mentioned the Indians fishing through the ice at Tasse River. MacNeil predicts the fish will continue to attract each winter "as long as we are winter enough to keep the river clear." **BALPH NEWPORT**

## Almeida's Revolution?

Quebecers, as proud of their new sophistication, will be surprised to discover that the Paris office of American Express is offering advanced Frenchmen a "superior" tour of Quebec. For \$300 plus air fare, the package promises a chance to "explore through the woods, on rabbit stew and generally enjoy the hardships of wilderness living. Not surprisingly, not even one would be reverse of the last has signed up. **BOB MILLER**



Winter addition to St. Anne de la Pénitence, where the fish are always biting

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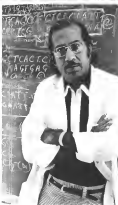
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# Science

## GENESIS, PART II: FROM A HANDFUL OF DUST, MAN CREATES LIFE

Microbiologists working in the laboratory field are showing that bacteria and high bugs and dark dust as they enter with the "building blocks" of all life. For every glowing project just forward by fragments of what has come to be known as genetically engineering there seems to be a disaster scenario dangled by a doubler. Consider for example the new experiments with gene transplants—the technique whereby scientists swap genes out of one organism and implant them in another. To some, the transplants might conceivably alter the agriculture industry so radically as to disable or render obsolete global food production, to others, the risk of accidental but deadly mutations triggering, say, a cancer epidemic are simply too great to ignore. The problems with genetic transplants that, so far, they have been expensive. A scientist had no way of knowing if, potentially, harmful genes were being carried over as well, making a mutation. Ideally, gene transplants would work with all genes, laboratory constructed genes—beneficial ones—unavailable simply because science was unable to manufacture them. Now a breakthrough has been made at all places in the world where Dr. Susan Nanning of the National Research Council has succeeded in building the first synthetic gene that exhibits nearly the same biological behavior as its natural counterpart. Nanning's work, which really began in the 1960s at the University of Wisconsin where he worked with Nobel Prize winner Dr. Hay Gollard and Khosravi, founder of the genetic code, has triggered great excitement in the light but conservative world of science. Dr. Raj Wu, head of microbiology at Cornell University, says Nanning's synthesized gene "opens the ultimate test of man-made biological materials."

Nearly as important, Nanning has opened up the manufacturing process that a synthetic gene can be made in months. Although he has a patent pending, Nanning, 45, concedes that he has led other geneticists who will probably be short-lived "laboratories with far greater resources than ours are better able to replicate the technology to build the much larger genes, the ones of interest to genetic



Harvey O'Brien: new world that has such people in it

engineers, you need to find a whole area of attention." Nanning, a quiet man with an intense capacity for focus, is virtually a white man by himself. **MARKS CHAPMAN**

### Where the heavens open

On contemplating the common British exclamation "It's raining cats and dogs," B. S. Haldane once remarked: "The universe is not only queerer than we imagined, it is queerer than we can imagine." The discovery of "black holes" was a case in point. These celestial gravity wells are one-way trips in time and space—anything that goes into one vanishes from the universe forever—and is far beyond belief. But they are real. Proof of their existence has been the major astronomical event of the 1970s—and Canadian astronomers have been playing a key role.

A black hole is born when a giant star dies. The death throes, which include chaotic nuclear reactions and with a colossal explosion that liberates more energy in a

second than our sun does in a million years. The explosion hurls billions of cubic miles of stellar material into space. Meanwhile the core of the former star implodes, shrinking in seconds to a tiny sphere the density of which increases until the point where atoms are crushed to an imploding chain reaction. Nothing can stop this compression, and no force in nature can prevent it from crushing itself out of existence. All that finally remains is a gravitational field—a black hole, whose density is infinite. Some scientists now believe that it is the ultimate finality of everything in the universe.

In 1971, data from the first orbiting X-ray observatory—the U.S. satellite Uhuru—brought attention to a powerful, erratic source of radiation known as Cygnus X-1. U.S. radio astronomers quickly pointed down the exact location, confirming that the X-rays were coming from a distance 10,000 light years away, a star listed in stellar catalogues as Cygnus 2140. Astronomers everywhere were fascinated, and the David Dunlap Observatory in Richmond Hill, Ontario, with its 24-inch reflector telescope was well equipped to undertake intensive study during the past few years. University of Toronto astronomer Tom Bolton has been taking precision photographs of the spectrum of Cygnus 2140, spending up to six hours a night studying the light.

As first I thought the X-ray source must be a neutron star, something less exotic than a black hole but still pretty interesting," Bolton says. "It was not clear that we were looking at two massive objects orbiting about each other every 3.6 days, one of which fits all the theoretical descriptions of a black hole." The black hole, analyzed by Bolton to have 14 times the mass of our sun, reveals itself as it feeds on its companion: a giant blue star, from which it annually swallows material equal to our moon.

Scientists including Bolton, concede that at the moment black holes are merely exotic curiosities. But as U.S. astronomer Kap Thorne of the California Institute of Technology says: "While electricity was discovered by its impact on man was almost inevitable." **STEPHEN SCHWARTZ**

# Television

## THE SECOND SEASON: AND NOW FOR SOMETHING COMPLETELY SIMILAR

Even one-handed television producers need to be seasonal: damage of medical programs couldn't be more than was happening. In the first three months of American television's 1975-76 season (the most expensive year, with a total of 70 series costing \$700 million) of the 27 new shows were unceremoniously axed—a record. And that didn't end, only three shows left his could be found among the survivors.

*Phylos* Joe Fleener and *Sherry And Mimi*. In addition, the three networks (NBC, CBS and ABC) were mulling neck and neck (also for the first time) in accepting an audience that had waned to the fall offerings by turning off their television sets in a massive show of disgust. A.C. Nielsen, the company that tabulates the popularity of American shows, estimated at one point last fall that the total viewership was down by as many as three million people per week. By the start of the new year, ratings around, just about the same were widely reported that the television industry had lost the biggest edge in history. "There is a gloom among TV people," says MWA's TV producer Larry Gubart. "It comes out of a feeling that the programs they've made just aren't that good."

But while network programmers were badly shaken (they quickly canceled special and documentary shows that cut into ratings) they were not stirred enough to break out of established programming formulas. Paced with leading 18 new shows for what has become known as TV's Second Season (starting in January and February), they opted to return to the same old jockeyed-out top shows (five new shows have been added to the existing 10) and tried to attract new viewers by squabbling families and fancy ensembles. At all times, network executives meeting Susan and Chris and a sample

are it meant scheduling a 42-hour soap opera based on *Love Boat's* novel. *Arch* *Man* *Post* *Star*

The result is that anyone standing on something completely offbeat that stands out in a crowd is produced outside the major networks. Producer Norman Lear (who changed the style of television comedy with *All in the Family* in 1971) is offering *Barney* and *Fanny Hill* on soap opera. *Barney* is a comedy about a poor-but-hip Puerto Rican father raising two witty sons. *Fanny Hill* is a comedy about a poor-but-hip Puerto Rican father raising two witty sons. *Barney* is a comedy about a poor-but-hip Puerto Rican father raising two witty sons. *Fanny Hill* is a comedy about a poor-but-hip Puerto Rican father raising two witty sons.

The *Adam Carlin* is a biographical series produced for the excellent Public Broadcasting Service has rated critical success because of its own—*happening* 33.2 million—but the money will be spent. The 13 programs trace the development of the Adams family in superb style, starting with the founding father, John, an early American President, through 130 years of American history. With these exceptions, the Second Season has been insidiously so much a sample.

• *Pop*, on CBS tries to break out of the

three seasons, one set prison that inhibits most situation comedies by using a combination of film and videotape. But no winner of technical route—despite can hide the fact that this is just another suchman family comedy about a poor-but-hip Puerto Rican father raising two witty sons.

• *Man* *The Cop* and *The Kid* attempts to update the love-hate relationship Wallace Brown and Jackie Cooper enjoyed in *The Champ*. This one around it's a whole cop (Charles Durning) and a black ghetto cop (Johnnie Lee Miller). The series' main question is a comedy but is really a serious match between two equally obscure people.

• *The Blue Knight* on CBS. George Kennedy has been in bed off in enough movies—*Apocalypse Now*, *Love, Honor, and the Lady*, *Apocalypse Now*—to be checked into the Los Angeles County morgue as a bona fide corpse. (Unfortunately, he's still running around after decades in the dreary pop melodrama out of the pages of *Joseph Wambaugh's* best seller.)

• *The Secret Woman* is an on-off-off of the busy late winter that has made *The Secret Woman* a hit. It's a biographical series about a woman who was a secret woman. It's a biographical series about a woman who was a secret woman.

• *One Day At A Time* on CBS is a Norman Lear production. A situation comedy about a divorced mother (Fannie Funnell) of two young daughters, it attacks the green-screening impact of *All in the Family* is over the one joke after another smoothness of *My Sister Sam*. For *Love, One Day At A Time* is a secret woman.

The only season panelist left network executives so excited that for the first time there will probably be a Third Season (in March) to replace the series that bawled this month. There has also been a lot of talk about the need for new formats with the success of *My Sister Sam*, *My Sister Sam* and *My Sister Sam*. Late-night comedy programs, *Saturday Night* While there are still no clear indications that the networks are going to substantially alter their programming, perhaps [7] hasn't seen any sign of anyone wanting to be innovative in the networks. *My Sister Sam* producer Allan Burns (now producer) there is a feeling in Hollywood, particularly among producers, that changes are on the way. "I think there is a lot of restlessness here," says producer Larry Gubart. "I haven't yet found a voice or shape, but I think there's a feeling that you can't go on the way they're being gone." **RON ROSE**

Black-hole modeler Majors with Wagner's See Lee jump! See Lindsay and Old One



# Films

## WERTMULLER OF THE MOVIES: SWEEP AWAY ON A SEA OF HYPERBOLE

SEVEN REALITIES  
SWEEP AWAY  
Directed by Lutz Wertmüller

From the beginning of her cinematic career as a puppeteer, Lutz Wertmüller anchored herself in various aspects of the Italian theater, radio and television. She was working in its tradition in Fellini in 1963 when (collaborations ensued) her first director film *The Casardi* at the age of 33. Now, six films later she is suddenly being

hailed as one of the top cinematic artists of the day. The audience is based on the recent North American release of three films that reveal her exhilarating willingness to rush headlong at political, social and moral issues that either acquiesce passivity or long narrative conventions. Wertmüller's *Swaps Away* released earlier this winter, is a fascinating social satire on Redemptive Crusade, with its rich, indefinable heroine (Marisa Gajone) straddled on a tropical island with her Germanian desk-bound (Giancarlo Giannini) a social imbalance revealed by ironic subjugation. Her new film, *Seven Bravers*, is a historically ambitious and aggressive study of a modern Italian and his European's dubious passion for survival. (A third record, though lesser Wertmüller film *All Served Up*, about a group of young Sicilians living together in a rural commune in Milan, is now also available, along with the earlier *Love And Anarchy* and *The Soldiers Of Men*, to help fill in the spectrum of this director's achievement.)

If *Seven Bravers* is the best thing she has yet given us, the most intensely conceived and relevant of her works, it also crystallizes her limitations. The film's hero is Pasquale Profano (Giannini again: he has appeared in all her output except *All Served Up*), a would-be Naples gangster actually nicknamed Seven Bravers because of his seven wives, women of harrowing and remarkable attractiveness. His eldest sister, Corinna, who has sold-out married wives whose Italian women might have done, has been left money—but also a massive bill, then a brother—by a love drug, "All-Over-It." Pasquale, whose character is clearly inspired by Pasquale, is to be allowed to keep steering his Neapolitan matters of "honor" and "dignity." The movie is accomplished clearly, the more so attempt is at finding a voice, and Pasquale soon finds himself locked away, first in a prison, where he stalks evidence by observation; then in a hospital, where, by what is considered a miracle of legal maneuvering, into a 12-year sentence in any case.

After a few years—in World War II—he is offered the alternative of the Italian Army, in whose service Pasquale is quickly captured by the Germans and sent to a concentration camp. There he is freed against a background of intense cruelty and despair. He finds another mode to win the seduction of the army's notorious Sicilian commander (Silvio Siro

let), a woman of infinite wits and evil, the Kochi sister to Mobly Dick. Somehow, he must get the wife, but cannot only the triumph of the will. Yet his survival must be purchased by further betrayal and manipulation, thus the Pasquale who returns to Naples, only to find all his inner (stated) principles for the conquering fit is about only incidentally.

Wertmüller controls the story with its not-so-convincing, moving with its too-rhythmic (and some overabundant) between the usually grand world of Naples and the colorful sub-world of Germany. (The earlier *All Served Up* continues in the intriguing dress rehearsal for the better conversation camp sequence in its scene about the kitchen of a huge restaurant, another nightmare world, precisely the same in the details of fog and gray striped uniforms, underlining Wertmüller's point that futurist society must be created a thing of the past.)

But that point can be chilling, the film is glimmering but icy. Much of her humor is externalized, driven from Italian overtones. Giannini's pupping eyes and much, much, shouting. This exaggeration also becomes a loving willingness to give it, not to say yellow or, debauchery, as if Wertmüller thought the could earn a name point by refusing to cut away. Thus, the scenes in *Swaps Away* of the wife brutally beating the woman seems atrociously overdone, as are all Wertmüller's scenes of as much of the three films has said. And when, in *Seven Bravers*, a desperate prisoner says that he'd rather drown in a storm than live in prison, you know that Wertmüller isn't using metaphor, but will show you the actual act, in close up.

Yet this over-the-top style of exaggeration is limited as a very artistic, dogmatic approach to character and structure. The problems with *Swaps Away* is that it is over-the-top, and Wertmüller's style is nearly arrogant that one simply would feel the cinema to fall into place. Similarly with the transformation of Pasquale into Profano in *Seven Bravers*, nothing disturbs the pattern, even the site structure elsewhere in the story, a young girl glimpsed at Pasquale's trial, has turned silent by the end. Wertmüller seems to be trying to say that we must assume our willingness to serve as all come, but in fact, for perhaps unconscious reasons (his suggests that there's nothing about that much supporting for any). For all her remarkable cinema style, including where simple humanity is concerned, Lutz Wertmüller remains a puppeteer.

LEO KADAR

# Music

## THE 30% SOLUTION: STILL MUSIC TO A LOT OF EARS

In the summer of 1971 Kelly Jay, lead singer of Cincinnati-based indie Crawlers, presented Prince Musician Trosch with a small plaque inscribed, "Thank you for making it possible through CMT for Canadian to be heard in their own country."

Instrumenter of 1971 a lot of people like that was about the Canadian Radio-Television Commission's ruling that required Canadian music stations to play a minimum of 30% Canadian music broadcast.

combined Canadian talent development divisions.

• Royalty payments made by the major Canadian performing Rights Associations—CISAC—the Canadian Copyright Clearance Center—quadrupled from \$364,908 in 1968 to \$1,333,600 in 1974.

• First-rank recording studios have blossomed all over the country. (Toronto now has 10 16-track studios compared to two before 1970 and Edmonton has had a big

the ratings without breaking the law, from "tracking" a solid hour of Canadian music from six to seven to the morning, when listenership was the lowest, to playing Frank Sinatra singing Paul Anka songs (which quadrupled in Canadian airplay in recent years) while afternoon of "Canadian Gold" made up of eight-year-old hits by Gordon Lightfoot and Neil Young. Five years later they're still fighting and cleaning the radio airwaves for the actual hour of Canadian music being heard on radio stations the U.S. Radio Tronky, music director of 50,000-kilowatt pop station CKLW in Windsor (which beams its 30% Canadian content into 40 U.S. states) says American surveys agree the Canadian music they hear on his station because they know "we've loved to play it and that there's no longer a choice." K. J. Rodden, New York publisher of a "Top 40" "top sheet" (used by radio stations in deciding what "hot" records to play) and one of the most powerful men in the U.S. music industry says because of the rulings "the credibility of Canadian recordings the U.S. is down to zero" (Bill Gross, RCA's equity portfolio manager in Los Angeles, tells Rodden's obligation to "popcock" and says long distribution is doing the most damage to Canadian records internationally.) Critics of the rulings claim the U.S. "musicists" is responsible for the plummeting number of Canadian records appearing on the last record & showed hit parade (down from a high of 40 in 1971 to a dismal 11 in 1975—the lowest total since 1961). Other observers say it is (as musical station on the part of U.S. music producers and record companies is a recession.

Barry Boyce, vice chairman of the CRTC, isn't buying any of the complaints. He dismisses the "backlash" argument as "that is, and is very stupid," and says the rulings were designed to "create a market in Canada for our own music." If it goes south of the border, so much the better, but it isn't a loss anyway. "The CRTC is more concerned with the fact that because of the ruling we are kept up to the spirit of the 1971 regulations," he says. "By now," Boyce grants, "they should be playing more than the required minimum." He also says he is considering a commission inquiry into ruling violations (although in five years a station has yet to be prosecuted for less Canadian music). Boyce warns as well that the required amount of Canadian content may be raised and that he would like to see it go as high as 40%. Kelly Jay would have been proud.

MARTIN MELLIAR



Jackie and Hardy now make music in another man's meat

a in and midnight. Before the rulings, the two (especially the powerful urban pop stations that controlled the bulk of broadcast) played almost exclusively of American and British music, and CRTC on its national (except for those who were able to survive at all) were driven south of the border to get their songs recorded. The regulations were drafted to set all that thought by living Canadian radio stations to provide a market for Canadian music. Perry Jones, CRTC chairman at the time, cautions today that the rulings were not a terribly sophisticated approach to the problem of raising a "biculturalism"—a midway switch drove into the winds of Canadian radio.

Five years later the CRTC "biculturalism" would seem to have worked. More Canadian music on the airwaves, and is used to apply new records to the radio stations in Canadian music industry has been caused into existence. Consider:

• The number of Canadian-owned record companies has risen to more than 40 from fewer than 10 before the rulings were introduced in January 1971.

• Multi-record record companies have still

16-track studio since 1973.)

• Canadian artists such as Murray McLauchlan and Hugob Hardy, who would never have had a chance of getting their music on radio in the last six years, are now being heard. (Hardy, who is instrumental in *The Howling*, grew out of a commercial, says, "I don't deny that I've benefited from the rulings.")

Not everyone, however, is happy with the regulations. Under Hardy, many of the media musicians feel that suggestions that their success has been prepped up by government handouts. Berken Cummings, lead singer of the defunct Guess Who, terms the regulations a "joke" and the CRTC says, "I reject the idea of pay to play, where you take musicians too far." Terry Jacks, whose *Seasons In The Sun* has become one of the biggest-selling singles of all time, says "The legislation was based for by a bunch of city-dwelling who couldn't get their records sold."

Canadian radio stations have howled about the rulings from the beginning. Claiming there was not enough good Canadian music around to fill 30% of their airtime, they tried everything to sidestep

Information bring on the empty brain



# Davey and Coutts, packagers of the new and increasingly isolated Pierre Trudeau

Column by Allan Fotheringham

Michael J. Webb is a Calgary lawyer who also happens to be a vice-president of the Liberal Party of Canada. He was greatly inspired by a recent book by Dan Ralston, the renowned American TV reporter in a column called *The Palace Guard* and is an exponent of the Holodomor (Holocaust) group who wrote Richard Nixon off from reality in the *Whitewater*. Webb has sent copies of the book to several party colleagues with a notation: "This is happening here."

Webb, of course, is correct. The nervous rigidity of some people within the party is so obvious happening in the tight circle of the media that it has been exposed and the Prime Minister of the land. The remarkable plunge in popularity of Trudeau and the Liberals since their crushing majority win in 1979 is due in large part to the new firm of merchandisers and packagers who owe well off the rest of the world. They are the people who have been raised to such esteem, naturally because of their key roles in charting the 1974 victory Senator Keith Davey and Jim Coutts.

Davey is the fastest riser: whose political career was "accelerated by success" and his shrewd observation of the 1974 Liberal campaign materialized his shrewd head in the high echelons of Trudeau's Club. A man of boundless enthusiasm for the cause he believes in, he is almost a caricature of his radio station background, with his gruff, Vaudeville posture which often makes him resemble a report from the road-show company of *Grease* and *Dolly*. Davey has been greatly mocked by the press in the past but has developed a nice modest touch to defend himself. At a newspaper party he was introduced to a *Globe* and *Mail* reporter with the explanation that this was the fellow "who writes the short funny editorials." Davey replied: "Actually the guy I wrote most is the one who does the long funny ones."

It was Davey, with his merchandising background, who brought Coutts back to Ottawa as Trudeau's principal secretary before arriving last year. Coutts has made one thing very apparent in both press and public: the much (unintentionally) outraged Jack Austin, his predecessor as that exact role, was an open shop, by comparison. Coutts is a packager and the package is becoming more confined. "People who would talk to you before," notes reporters, "aren't talking any more."

Coutts is a character, little figure who rather resembles Mickey Rooney. He wears red suspenders and clothes that look

and they've been around since the Thirties. He is from Nunavut, Alberta, is a great mixer of party personalities, and a packager. But he is a bit of a clown; he is an MMA from Harvard and was a partner in a Toronto business consulting firm before being coaxed back to do the biggest consulting job of all—the problem of packaging, marketing and merchandising Pierre-Elliott Trudeau. The Coutts business consulting firm, for example, was given the job of being the search committee to find a new boss for Grand Mortgage and Housing Corp.



Coutts and Howell Bob Halperman

and turned up millions of dollars. He is a builder. But the job Coutts has the right connections: he is one of the prestigious sponsors of the Lester B. Pearson College of the Pacific near Victoria (where Bill Truitt's daughter attends where Jack Austin's daughter attends). What is most surprising about Coutts is how he has put his hands on the main stage. It is symbolic in the Ottawa Press Gallery that the press notices that once laid there off the podiums have to the East Block end of prime ministerial power, he now has been backed up. So have the cabinet ministers. One gallery veteran says: "We have as much access to Trudeau as you, sitting here down the corridor, as many as we do now." Coutts has become a member of bodies who once had access to Trudeau. He converses with him in the house of Bob Halperman. A minor but

real reason is that the principal secretary to the Prime Minister of Canada does not live in Ottawa. He stays during the week at the house of the Press Gallery (owned by Truitt) and vacates on weekends to Toronto. Ottawa is no exception. He is a coachman—managing the secret corporate power.

Indicative of the disconcerting new relationship with the rest of the world is the fact of the press secretary. The last time, Pierre O'Neill, left last fall for a divorcee who lived in Africa and four months later access could be found who wanted the job. It was obvious some of the statements between Margaret Trudeau and some of the staff on the celebrated Liane Anderson tour could have been crafted with the precision of a state press secretary in tracking respect from both sides. O'Neill, the exiled French-Canadian journalist in the Press Gallery who he was head, got increasingly frustrated at the lack of confidence shown in him. Thirteen press officers in line. Country Tower, he said, would be soon in line.

At the base of this complex is Trudeau's well-known contempt for the press. He grew up in the Quebec of Deception, when legislative opponents regularly accused "gilt," and he seemed to progress beyond that thinking. One of the reasons for Margaret's two-day outburst after returning from Cuba is that she is not down and that what had been written about her in the press. Trudeau is famous for the fact he doesn't read the papers. Can you doubt why he stresses so much. From now?

It's hoped the great new Press Gallery president Charles Lynch—who calls Trudeau "a physical fitness nut with a high IQ"—may be able to establish better relations, but the view from the press is a negative. This is the view that is that calling, that is their end, that is their end. It was the Coutts-Davey strategy that was successful in the 1974 campaign, not to let the press talk to Trudeau. He made headlines in the real speeches, made announcements, appeared, presented, but was shielded from press questioning. It was the reason why Robert Stenfield, who had his wage and price guidelines ripped to shreds by press scrutiny, was so bitter about the two standards.

Almost everyone in Canada these days finds it incredible to discover how out of touch with the electorate the Prime Minister is that master manipulators have taken charge—perhaps without him even realizing it—of his job but life. The press guards think they stand on guard far there. They are mistaken.

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